



Celebration

OF THE

74TH
ANNIVERSARY

OF THE SIGNING OF THE

CONSTITUTION
OF THE STATES
UNITED OF AMERICA

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

*May 16th 1870 for \$5.5 per dozen
Philadelphia Councils.*

PRINTED BY ORDER OF CITY COUNCILS.

C E L E B R A T I O N

OF THE

SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

Signing of the Constitution

OF THE

United States of America,

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 17th, 1861.

PHILADELPHIA:

KING & BAIRD, PRINTERS, 607 SANSOM STREET.

1861.

PROCEEDINGS OF CITY COUNCILS.

Philadelphia, September 12th, 1861.

At a Stated Meeting of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, held this day, the following Memorial was presented to each body:

*To the Select and Common Councils
of the City of Philadelphia:*

The Petition of the Undersigned, Citizens of Philadelphia,

Respectfully Represents:

That, as the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES was signed in Philadelphia, a proud memorial in the Nation's History, which is the exclusive property of this City, they earnestly desire that the approaching Anniversary of that great event, the first since the commencement of the Great Rebellion, should be observed here in a manner commensurate with the loyal character of the People.

They desire it in grateful remembrance of those who have preceded, and as a noble incentive to those who are to come after them. And they desire it further, as a proper manifestation to their loyal fellow-citizens throughout the Union, of the steadiness and brightness with which, at this great National Crisis,

the fires of Patriotism continue to burn upon her Altars, here in this great City, in which, not only was the Constitution signed, but from which the Declaration of Independence, and the Farewell Address of our immortal Founder, were first issued to the Nation and to the World.

They, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your Honorable Bodies to pass a Joint Resolution, recommending to all the Citizens of Philadelphia, to commemorate the 17th day of September next, as far as possible, by patriotic observances, similar to those which annually mark the return of the 4th of July and the 22d of February.

G. M. DALLAS,
A. J LEWIS,
B. GERHARD,
JAY COOKE,
HOR. HUBBELL,
CHARLES GILPIN,
J. MURRAY RUSII,
DAN. DOUGHERTY,
LITTLE, STOKES & CO.
JAMES DUNDAS,
JOHN GRIGG,
GEORGE W. WOLF,
JACOB F. DERR,
JOHN OAKFORD,
ENOCH TAYLOR,
HENRY R. GUMMEY,
THOMAS A. GUMMEY,
HENRY GARRETT,
HORATIO GATES JONES,
JAMES L. SHARPE,
JAMES J. BARCLAY,
ALEXANDER FULLERTON,
M. C. SHALLCROSS,
CHARLES S. COXE.
GARRICK MALLERY,
W. L. SCHAFFER,
A. V. PARSONS,

JOHN D. TAYLOR,
HOR. ETTING,
HENRY J. BOLLER,
SAMUEL HART,
ABRAHAM S. IIOLT,
WILLIAM NEWELL,
WILLIAM F. NORTH,
JOHN E. ASHMEAD,
SAMUEL ABBOTT,
F. U. STITT, a Tennessee Refugee.
W. H. MERRICK,
JOSEPH PEROT,
HENRY W. SCOTT,
JOHN E. ADDICKS,
JOHN M. PUGH,
DAVID H. WHITE,
SAMUEL M. FOX,
W. HALL,
ALEX. BIDDLE,
JOHN F. GILPIN,
B. P. HUTCHINSON,
JAMES H. DUFFEE,
SAMUEL BRECK,
J. R. INGERSOLL,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
ISAAC HAZLEHURST,
MORTON McMICHAEL,

J. A. FRY,
 THOMAS A. BUDD,
 T. A. BUDD, Jr.
 SAMUEL C. PERKINS,
 GEORGE JUNKIN, Jr.
 SAMUEL H. PERKINS,
 BOYD STROUD,
 HENRY J. WILLIAMS,
 CHARLES E. LEX,
 FRANK M. ETTING,
 THOMAS D. SMITH,
 GEORGE G. THOMAS,
 A. G. STOUT,
 JOSEPH A. CLAY,
 T. DUNLAP,
 EVANS ROGERS,
 JOSIAH W. SMITH,
 THOMAS J. MEGEAR,
 C. MACALESTER,
 GEORGE W. JONES,
 C. W. CHURCHMAN,
 EDWARD R. HELMBOLD,
 M. PATTERSON,
 E. H. BUTLER & CO.
 M. THOMAS,

ANNESLEY R. GOVETT,
 PETER PENN GASKELL,
 GEORGE N. HARVEY,
 I. B. BAXTER,
 FRANCIS WEST,
 JOHN C. CARPENTIER,
 JOHN C. SCOTT,
 FREDERICK DEVEREUX,
 JAMES B. HANCOCK,
 JAMES CAMPBELL,
 ROBERT WRIGHT,
 R. WHITAKER,
 CHARLES P. BICKNELL,
 SAMUEL SHAFER,
 FRANK C. THOMAS,
 E. CARPENTER,
 WM. H. BROWN,
 SAMUEL P. DARLINGTON,
 WM. R. GRIES,
 THOMAS EDWARDS, Jr.
 JOS. C. HAINES,
 D. M. ROBINSON,
 J. P. HUTCHINSON,
 W. B. HILL,

And others.

MR. BRADFORD, of Select Council, offered the following:

RESOLUTION,

"In reference to the Celebration of the 17th of September, 1861, being the Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the United States of America."

WHEREAS, In times like these, it is of importance that the objects and purposes of the Constitution should be clearly understood by all classes of our loyal fellow citizens, and that an opportunity should be afforded them to demonstrate their determination to maintain the Union :

AND WHEREAS, No day could be set apart for that pur-

pose more fitting than that on which the great instrument, in which it is embodied, was signed, therefore be it

Resolved, That Hon. George M. Dallas be requested to deliver an address to the assembled citizens of Philadelphia, in Independence Square, on the morning of Tuesday next, the 17th of September, 1861, at 12 o'clock, M., on the subject of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the Commissioner of City Property be instructed to have a suitable stage erected in the Square, on that morning, to accommodate the Orator, the Mayor and Councils, and such distinguished citizens as may be invited to be present with them.

Resolved, That a Committee of five members from each Chamber be appointed to carry the above Resolutions into effect, and to add such ceremonies to those named in the above Resolutions, as they may deem proper, to give dignity and prominence to the occasion.

Which was unanimously agreed to.*

Common Council concurred.†

And the Presidents of each Chamber appointed the following Committee:

Select Council.
Messrs.

Wm. BRADFORD,
STEPHEN BENTON,
J. Q. GINNODO,
JOSEPH S. RILEY,
W. H. DRAYTON.

Common Council.
Messrs.

Wm. A. INGHAM,
A. R. PAUL,
GEO. W. SIMONS,
A. J. CATHERWOOD,
SAMUEL J. CRESWELL.

Attest,

GEORGE F. GORDON,

Clerk of Common Council.

* Journal of Select Council, p. 49.

† Journal of Common Council, p. 60.

CELEBRATION
OF THE
SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Tuesday, September 17th, 1861, will be recorded in the history of Philadelphia, as a new era in national holidays—a connecting link, in the chain of years, that will bind our people together more firmly in the bonds of fraternity and patriotism.

At sunrise, a salute was fired from the heavy guns at the Navy Yard, and from batteries in different parts of the City. American flags were run up mast-high on all the prominent buildings, and many of the private ones displayed emblems of loyalty to the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws.

A large stand was erected in Independence Square, stretching across the entire width of the

brick-work of the base of the steeple. This was gaily decorated with American flags, and the roof was covered with a large sail, kindly loaned by the commandant at the Navy Yard. The arrangements about the stand were in good taste and highly patriotic. Ample accommodations were made for the officers, orator, reporters, &c. On the front of the stand was the following motto:

"THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

A large police force was detailed by Chief Ruggles, which preserved the most admirable order, notwithstanding the heavy pressure of an immense multitude.

The programme was neatly printed on letter sheet, in red, white, and blue colors, under the direction of the patriotic George F. Gordon, the Clerk of Common Council. This document, worthy of preservation, was handsomely embellished with a vignette, representing fraternity, or a union of hands, for the sake of the Union and the Constitution.

The multitude was immense. The public schools were closed, business was generally suspended, and there was great excitement, of a joyous and pleasurable nature, manifested by everybody.

The Military.

The right of the military line formed on Twelfth Street, resting on Callowhill, and, punctual to the minute, the march commenced, under Brigadier General Pleasonton, and the procession moved agreeably to the programme of the route, as previously published. A halt was made in front of the residence of the Honorable George M. Dallas, on Walnut Street, below Tenth, and the distinguished gentleman, after having been received by the troops with military honors, was conducted to the barouche by members of the City Councils. The line of march was taken up again, and about twelve o'clock, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, the barouche reached the front of Independence Hall, and the orator of the day was escorted through well-drawn-up lines of police.

The display of military was exceedingly creditable, and was composed as follows:

BRIGADIER GENERAL A. J. PLEASONTON.

STAFF. { Major JOHN NEILL, *Assistant Surgeon General.*
 Major ANDREW J. COHEN, *Assistant Inspector General.*
 Captain E. SPENCER MILLER, *Aid-de-camp.*

1st Battalion 1st Regiment of Rifles.

Major HENRY PRESSER.

Co. A.—Capt. A. Schoenbein,
 “ B.—Lieut. M. Eggeling,
 “ C.—Capt. John Schaeffer.
 “ D.—Capt. F. W. Thomas,
 “ E.—Capt. Louis Winter.

1st Battalion 2d Regiment Rifles.

Major CHARLES E. GRAEFF.

- Co. A.—Lieut. Horatio G. Jones, commanding.
 “ B.—Capt. George J. Corrie,
 “ C.—Capt. B. B. Wilson,
 “ D.—Capt. Joseph Horn.
-

1st Regiment Infantry of the line.

Lieut.-Col. JAS. ROSS SNOWDEN, commanding.

Major R. M. FOUST.

Major LEONARD MYERS.

Adjutant MICHAEL LUKENS.

- Co. A.—J. J. Heisler,
 “ B.—Lieut. Isaac C. Price, commanding,
 “ C.—Aquila Haines,
 “ D.—W. H. Binder,
 “ E.—S. Snyder Leidy,
 “ F.—Henry Manderson,
 “ G.
 “ H.—Lawrence Kelly,
 “ I.—John Motz,
 “ K.—Samuel Hart.
-

2d Regiment Infantry of the line.

Colonel CHARLES P. DARE.

Lieut.-Colonel JOHN NUKUMMET.

Major LEWIS A. SCOTT.

Adjutant W. H. DANIELS.

Paymaster W. H. Rhawn.

Quartermaster —— McClellan.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Co. A.—B. G. Barney, | Co. F.—Joseph Patton, |
| “ B.—Lieut. Wm. Richmond, | “ G.—E. H. Grant, |
| “ C.—Lieut. O. H. P. Parker, | “ I.—J. L. Anderson, |
| “ D.—Horace B. Fry, | “ K.—René Guillou. |

Battalion 3d Regiment Infantry of the line.

Major L. B. THOMAS.

Co. A.—Lieut. Thos. M. Plowman,
 “ B.—Capt. Wm. W. Winn,
 “ C.—Capt. Francis Hughes.

1st Regiment Cavalry.

Co. A.—Capt John Bavington,
 “ B.—Capt. J. W. Hall.

The extreme right was occupied by four High Constables, mounted. These were immediately followed by platoons of Reserve Corps of Police, under the command of Sergeant Lovaire.

Immense crowds of people lined the sidewalks, but the rain interfered with their comfort, though it did not seem to dampen the ardor of their patriotism. *Evening Bulletin.*

The Meeting in Independence Square.

Precisely at 12 o'clock, M., the meeting was organized, as follows:

Singing by the following Musical Societies:

THE MENNERCHOR,—HANDEL AND HADYN SOCIETY,—
 JUNIOR MENNERCHOR,—MENNERCHOR RIFLES,—
 FREE MEN RIFLES,
 and several other Musical Societies.

Music, under the direction of Prof. BIRGFIELD, Brigade Band Master
 Philadelphia Home Guard.

I.

Music—AMERICA.

My country ! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty !

 Of thee I sing :
Land where my fathers died ;
Land of the pilgrims pride ;
From every mountain side,
 Let freedom ring.

My native country ! thee,
Land of the noble free,
 Thy name I love :
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills ;
My heart with rapture thrills ;
 Like that above.

Our fathers' God ! to thee,
Author of liberty !
 To thee we sing :
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light ;
Protect us by thy might,
 Great God, our King !

Mr. CRESWELL, of the Committee, appeared, and said :

My Friends and Fellow Citizens :

It affords me great pleasure to introduce to you, as the President of this meeting, the Honorable ALEXANDER HENRY, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia.

President.

ALEXANDER HENRY,
Mayor of the City of Philadelphia.

Mayor Henry appeared and took his place.

W. A. INGHAM, Esq., of the Committee, then nominated the following Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.

Vice-Presidents.

HORACE BINNEY,	THOMAS TASKER,
J. R. INGERSOLL,	JOHN C. CRESSON,
SAMUEL BRECK,	CALEB COPE,
W. M. MEREDITH,	JOEL B. SUTHERLAND,
J. EDGAR THOMPSON,	JOHN McCREA,
JOHN B. MYERS,	BENJAMIN RUSH,
JOHN WELSH,	Col. JOHN THOMPSON,
S. M. FELTON.	CHAS. MACALESTER,
HENRY J. WILLIAMS,	Com: CHARLES STEWART,
JOHN GRAEFF,	THOMAS A. BUDD,
PETER WILLIAMSON,	JOSEPH WAYNE, Sr.
JOHN C. FARR,	FRANKLIN PEALE,
TIOS. DUNLAP,	JOHN G. WATMOUGH,
WM. MUSSER,	CHARLES S. COXE,
Col. J. S. RILEY,	JAMES DUNDAS,
DANIEL PAUL,	SIMON GRATZ,
PETER PENN GASKILL,	THOMAS I. POTTS.

Secretaries.

BENJAMIN GERHARD,	WM. H. MERRICK,
GEORGE W. BUDD,	JOHN E. ADDICKS,
JOHN CARTER,	JOSEPH THOMAS,
WM. ROTCH WISTER,	CHARLES GILPIN,
H. C. PRIMROSE, M. D.,	SAMUEL C. PERKINS,
ISAAC HAZLEhurst,	SAMUEL B. MILLER,
	ALEXANDER WHILLDIN.

III.

*The Mayor then introduced the
REV. REUBEN JEFFRIES, D.D.,
who delivered the following*

PRAYER.

Almighty and most Merciful God, we assemble this day to invoke Thy blessing upon us as a people and as a nation. We adore Thee, oh, God, that Thou hast marked our history thus far by the peculiar and unmistakeable evidences of the divine approbation. Now, oh God, in this our hour of trial, in this the day of our calamity, we turn to Thee and confess unto Thee our sins, and invoke towards us expressions of Thy continued loving kindness and tender mercy.

We rejoice, oh God, that thou hast founded our Union in the very birth-throes of prayer! That those who gave to us our liberties, were men that feared God. We pray that thou wouldest answer their unanswered prayers in our behalf. We beseech Thee, oh God, to look down upon us; to avert from us the terrible calamities which are now threatening our very existence. Give to us, we beseech Thee, oh God, a recognition of Thy superintending Providence.

Oh, grant that we may adore Thee and fear Thee as the God of nations—as that august Being

who dost rule in the skies, and dost order all things after the counsel of Thine only will.

We pray that Thou wouldst not disappoint the expectations of our people; and our prayer to Thee this morning is urged by the memories of the past, and by the pledges of Thy favors that have been continued in the tokens of Thy loving kindness towards us. Surely Thou hast given to us our liberties,—surely Thou hast given to us the Constitution whose adoption we celebrate to-day, as pledges that Thou wouldst accomplish for us a glorious destiny.

Now, oh God, that the clouds have gathered around us, grant that when they shall have disappeared, the banner of our country's glory may be floating and waving over our entire territory, the sign of our nation's unity.

We beseech Thee, to bring to a speedy termination the fearful rebellion that is now raging around us; that Thou wilt disperse the armies that are gathered against us; that Thou wouldst assuage the rage of our enemies, and confound their councils—that Thou wouldst bring them in the ways of reason, teach them that in rebelling against our Government they are rebelling against Thee!

Oh God! we pray that Thou wouldst teach us wherein we have offended Thee, and give us grace to confess our sins, and grace to reform. And we

pray Thee, oh Lord, that Thou wouldst not turn us away from Thee, but turn all Thy love towards us, that we may prosper again.

We pray Thee, our Heavenly Father, to bless the President of the United States, and all in authority under him. Give unto him great discretion, and humble trust in Thee, and a reliance in Thy superintending Providence in this, the hour of our great danger! God grant that this city of our love and our residence, the Mayor, and all upon whom devolve the responsibilities of administration, shall be preserved against misfortune. We command Thy blessing, Oh God, on the occasion of this day, and upon the venerable speaker who is to address us, and thanking Thee that Thou hast given him history so subservient to the welfare of our country.

Oh God, we beseech Thee that Thou wouldst give to us all hearts loyal to our Government, and loyal to Thee; and so do Thou grant that our danger may pass away, that we may live a peaceful and prosperous nation, and fulfil the high destiny to which Thou hast appointed us; and when, at last, we, with other nations, shall have passed away, grant that we may be a part of Thy heavenly kingdom, having no end. We ask thus much for the Redeemer's sake. Amen.

III.

OLD HUNDRED—By the Bands.

MAYOR HENRY arose, and spoke as follows:
Fellow Citizens:

The Councils of Philadelphia have deemed it appropriate, more especially in view of the distracted and unhappy condition of our country, that this day, the seventy-fourth anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, should be marked by its public and general observance in your midst.

They have invited you to assemble in this most hallowed place, that its proud memories may incite your ardor as patriots, and call forth renewed vows of uncompromising, enduring loyalty. An eminent citizen has been invited to address you upon this occasion — one whose steadfast devotion to that Constitution is illustrated in a long career of service in the most honored offices of the Republic. [Cheers.]

His ripe experience and enlightened judgment well fit him to rehearse the virtues and wisdom of the past, and to discern amid the surrounding gloom the cheering auspices of a yet glorious future.

This place, this throng, this scene cannot fail to recall the last occasion upon which you, my fellow-citizens, were gathered here, by the appointment of your municipal authorities. But eight months since, you, citizens of Philadelphia, in all earnestness and affection, stretched forth the hand of

brotherhood to the disaffected people of other sections of our common country. The proffer of that hand has been spurned and rejected.

I shall not dwell upon the sad events which, since then, have plunged our country into a fratricidal strife. I shall not recount the rapid developments of treason, the unscrupulous seizure of your National property, the armed resistance to rightful authorities, or those other acts of aggression and defiance which at length have culminated in the rebel hosts, who, with impotent menaces, this day beleaguer the capital of your land. History will reserve its darkest page for the perfidy, the ingratitude, and infatuation, which find no parallel in its records.

During seventy-four years our steady growth, and increasing prosperity have challenged the admiration of the world; and yet, my fellow-citizens, it will be better—I say it to you deliberately and solemnly—it will be better, far better, for the highest, noblest interests of mankind, that the seventy-four years to come shall bring with them all the desolating curses of war, than that our Federal Constitution shall be overthrown [cheers,] or that one foot of the soil which it has enfranchised, shall be wrested from its dominion. It can be of little hindrance to the onward progress of man that two or three generations of this people with their ephemeral interests shall be the

victims of wasting strife; but it will be an unutterable calamity if the first and only beacon of constitutional freedom that in six thousand years has gleamed along the pathway of nations shall be suffered to be dimmed or put out. But, fellow-citizens, if you are true to yourselves—if you are true to your obligations to posterity—if you are true to your country in this her hour of need, no such unhappy destiny awaits us. Already renewed confidence in the stability of our institutions is banishing mistrust and apprehension. Already a reasonable hope may be indulged and proclaimed, that, ere many recurring anniversaries of this day, the fealty and devotion which you have assembled to avow, shall be manifested everywhere, through a reunited, peaceful, prosperous land. God grant it may speedily be fulfilled. [Tremendous cheering.]

IV.

Resolutions.

Presented and read by Wm. Bradford, Esq., and unanimously adopted by the meeting.

Whereas, Our National Constitution was formed, after full experience of the fatal weakness and utter inefficiency of a mere Confederation of States, in order to effect a more perfect union:

And whereas, A portion of the people of this nation, after having sedulously perverted the plain meaning of that instrument, have at last boldly trampled on its obligations, and are now in armed rebellion against its supporters, with the avowed object of severing the Union:

And whereas, It is eminently proper, in these dark and trying times, that the citizens of Philadelphia, the birth-place of the Constitution, should assemble, on the anniversary of its adoption, a day too little regarded amid the selfishness of our former unparalleled prosperity, to revive their devotion and renew their fealty to the sacred principles embodied in that glorious instrument; therefore,

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, and that there is no foundation anywhere within its provisions, or outside of them, for the assumption that allegiance is primarily due to the States, and only secondarily to the National Government.

Resolved, That the Union established by the adoption of the Constitution is, and was intended to be, perpetual.

Resolved, That to the Union we owe, under God, all the prosperity which we have hitherto

enjoyed; that it is the sole guarantee of our liberties, and that without it we would fall into a state of confusion, anarchy, and intestine war, utterly destructive of our highest blessings and our most precious rights.

Resolved, That the doctrine that a State may absolve its citizens from their national allegiance, and may withdraw at will from the Union, is a monstrous political heresy, and the attempt to exercise this pretended right is a crime of the deepest dye.

Resolved, That, while such a crime is attempted, we will recognize but two classes of men, the friends and the enemies of our country, and will devote our whole energies, and expend our whole means, to sustain the one and suppress the other.

(Signed)

W. M. BRADFORD,	A. J. CATHERWOOD,
W. A. INGHAM,	J. Q. GINNODO,
SAMUEL J. CRESWELL,	STEPHEN BENTON,
A. R. PAUL,	W. H. DRAYTON,
GEORGE W. SIMONS,	JOSEPH S. RILEY.

Attest, GEO. F. GORDON,
Clerk.

v.

Øeation.

B Y

Hon. GEORGE M. DALLAS.

Fellow Citizens of Philadelphia: ..

Your Municipal Councils, on Thursday evening last, adopted a resolution, expressing the wish to commemorate this anniversary in some suitable manner, and requesting me to address you on the subject of the Constitution of the United States. The duty thus suddenly but flatteringly imposed, is undertaken with diffidence, trusting implicitly to your indulgence.

There are epochs of trial in the history of every country, when it becomes indispensable to the general safety, order, and honor that there should be unanimity of sentiment and exertion. We have entered upon such an epoch, and if the essential unanimity, or anything near it, can be obtained, the epoch, however laden with fruits of bitterness and anguish, will shortly pass away; if otherwise, then, indeed, it will be as impossible to see the distant end as to fathom the dark depths of our calamities.

Can there be anything on which we should so harmoniously and vigorously co-operate as in maintaining the Constitution? Heretofore, Ameri-

can differences as to that instrument have been those of mere interpretation, often subtle, and mostly ardent, but always peacefully disposed of. Now, however, we are required to abandon, give up, surrender, abolish the Constitution altogether, to reduce to dead letter its clearest clauses, to forego its crowning product—the Union, and to accept in its stead something crudely fashioned by avowedly exasperated and unfriendly hands!

We can't do that: and I will try to tell you why.

Taking for granted, fellow-citizens, the absolute necessity of some form of government, *this* fundamental charter has victoriously borne the test of time and talent. Its steady operation for seventy-two years drew to it the homage of universal admiration. No wonder; for it was the offspring of the wisest and purest deliberative council the world has ever seen, and its rich fruits of human prosperity, happiness, strength and glory, have in unceasing progression, riveted the astonished gaze and awakened the yearning sympathies of men everywhere.

From the great date when WASHINGTON first took the oath of office, as President, April 30, 1789, down to a very recent period, what purpose contemplated by the sages who made it, has this Constitution failed to fulfil? Not one. Those purposes, as enumerated in the preamble, were

“to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty;” a summary, compact and comprehensive, including all the aims which a nation of the highest civilization could hope to achieve. Amid the countless and unavoidable vicissitudes of human affairs, every dangerous ordeal has been met and passed; foreign war, domestic insurrection, financial panic and fraud, traitorous conspiracy and factious strife, had all successively proved its efficacy; while its beneficent influence was attested by vast accessions of States, Territories and people, by the boundless spread of industry, education and comfort, and by the unimpeded enjoyment and exercise of legal rights.

A Constitution founded upon considerations connected with the genius, pursuits, wants, prospects, and even the climate of a numerous people, is always designed to be permanent, to be unalterable, or alterable only after measured care and in the manner prescribed within itself. Hence, the original formation of a Constitution is confided to the best intellects, soundest hearts, and most enlarged experience; and hence, too, it is that so important an arrangement—fixing and fastening the roots of social and political being for all time—if once adequately tried, and found in every

respect appropriate, must be clung to with affectionate constancy, and reverence. No casual disturbance of the political elements, no quick and menacing congregation of cloud, can be permitted to strike, as with an electric bolt, and so shatter into fragments the solid Temple reared for immortality, by immortal architects like Washington, Franklin, Madison, Sherman, Hamilton, Wilson, Dickinson, Read, Pinckney. Society at large has too much at stake, in the future and the present, and in the memories of the past, not to spring forward with its shield of defence as one man.

So entirely satisfied were the illustrious founders with the edifice they constructed, and yet so modest is true wisdom, that as they were about to end their work, the fifth article was inserted. Their language in that article is simply this:—“Amend it, oh! yes, amend it if you choose and can; but when you desire that, we prescribe in advance, as indispensable, the only course of preliminary proceeding by which you are sure to avoid the blindness of passion, the dangers of precipitancy, or the foolhardiness of ignorance.” The course there enjoined is certainly not rapid or summary, because, as one of the grave and forecasting sages mentioned, would have said, “the more haste the less speed;” it is certainly peaceful, not belligerent, because violence never can be reason; and it is certainly bottomed upon a vigi-

lant provision of the good will of all, and not alone of a part, whether sectional or industrial. Nothing, perhaps, in the Constitution illustrates more strongly the consciousness that it was designed to be, not an idle play-ground on which capricious and artificial doctrines might try their experiments, but an everlasting Government, without suspension or break, conforming to the exigencies of progress, as this very provision for amendment; nor is there a feature in the whole worthier of deference and adhesion.

The occasion does not allow my entering, fellow-citizens, into the detailed distribution of the various legislative, executive and judicial powers systematically delineated in our governmental chart; nor into the prohibitory restrictions, nor the reservations of State or popular rights. In all this, it is wonderful to note how sagaciously and scrupulously the instrument was ultimately perfected. At home, dealing with linked and fraternal commonwealths, it is marked by forbearance and respect; abroad, dealing with independent nations, it is fastidious and firm; to the responsible agencies of public authority it is direct and peremptory; to the private citizen it is fostering and just.

Having given you a hurried, but, as far as it goes, faithful sketch of your Constitution, let me hasten to ask whether you are ready to relinquish

so inestimable a blessing, consigned to you by so honored an ancestry?

There are those, heretofore sworn brethren of ours, who profess doctrines of political association subversive of this, or, indeed, any other Government; and, who, to enforce nullification, secession or revolution, (called by either name, the thing is the same,) have furtively and fast seized your forts, taken your treasure, trampled on your flag, pillaged your commerce, and pointed their artillery at the dome of your Capitol!

Let us look at this extraordinary measure, and, if possible, without disturbing emotion, inquire, First. Whether it be in your power to abandon your Constitution? Second. Whether, if it be in your power, your doing so, as matters now stand, would be becoming? And Third. Whether the Chief Executive and people of the United States have any duty to discharge under their Constitution, so single, obvious, and absolute, as that of inflexibly beating the rebellion down? A few sentences on each of these points, and my task is ended.

1. In the first place then, fellow-citizens, frankly be it said, there cannot be found in the sacred instrument on which my comments have been made, one word giving warrant, by any process, for its own extinction. It was not born to die. No functionary, no State, no Congress, no

combination of communities or individuals, is authorized to mutilate the Union, or kill the Constitution. That is a crime which, like patricide in Solon's day, is treated as inconceivable. We hear often of conventions, consultations, conferences and compromises—they are the vague and fluttering devices of anxious philanthropy; but, unless the Fifth Article has been strictly pursued, which we all know now to be impossible, these expedients are utterly inapplicable and fruitless. For, remember, this provision—not, in fact, designed to destroy, but to strengthen—enunciates the necessity, before the slightest alteration can be attempted, that *first*, *two-thirds*, of both Houses of Congress shall unite in proposing it; or, *second*, that the Legislatures of *two-thirds* of the several States shall apply for a General Convention; and *third*, that whatever change may be contemplated, whether by two-thirds of both Congressional Chambers, or by two-thirds of the State Legislatures, must wholly fail, unless it be subsequently ratified by the Legislatures or Conventions of *three-fourths* of the States. The mere recital shows the futility, if not impracticability, into which the tempestuous course of events have paralyzed this article. No! fellow-citizens, you have not the power to abandon your Constitution.

2. But if you had that power, what then?

Need I say that, without being recreant to all your antecedents, its exercise is precluded by the boasted attitude and armor of those who demand it? The lowering front of armed and contumelious rebellion is not the presence in which concession is possible. Give up the Constitution, rupture the Union, burn the archives of your glorious history, and open wide the flood-gates of disaster upon the country, if such can be your choice, but never do it in subservient meekness to envenomed opprobium, or while listening to the roar of our enemy's cannon. The stigma of an act so grovelling, dastardly, and degenerate as *that*—so utterly un-American—would cover us for ages as with a poisoned pall. Fellow-citizens: There are formidable batteries frowning at Manassas; behind them gleam undiscriminating hatred and scorn, sharpening every sword and speeding every bullet,—we would cease to be men if we crouched to either.

3. In this war there is really no alternative for loyal Constitutionalists. In the explicit language of the unanimously adopted resolution of Mr. Crittenden, it was *forced* upon the Government of the United States. Retrospective narrative, therefore, would be alike tedious and useless. It is on our hands. We see it, hear it, feel it. Our fathers, brothers, and sons are falling in hecatombs, sacrificed to its fury. Every breeze

comes laden with its changing incidents, its alarms, its hopes, its glooms, its taunts, its cheers, its covert slaying, and its open struggles. The gates of Janus are expanded wide. No room now left for diplomacy of any sort; none for soothing words of remonstrance. Fight we must; fight, *a l'outrance*, those whom we have heretofore fostered and taught how to fight; drive them from their infatuated and parricidal purpose of destroying their own country; and pause only when that country, its Union and Constitution, are inaccessible to outrage.

No doubt, fellow-citizens, no doubt, this contest must lead to great effusion of blood, to vast expenditure, to alternations of victory and discomfiture, and to an immense aggregate of suffering. Such have been the consequences of civil war at all times and wherever it has burst forth.

It must be confronted with a stern and steady gaze. Every sinew should be braced, and, if necessary, while the country is in peril, every heart in every bosom, every dollar in every purse, every drop in every vein, be held at its service.

When we shall have thus done all that a great people can and ought to do to rescue from insurgent violence the American Union, involving as it does the safety, order, liberty and peace of countless millions, then will the shades of our

venerated sires smile upon their sons, and we may look confidently to a just Heaven for success.

The able address of Mr. Dallas was listened to with deep interest, frequently interrupted with hearty cheers at its noble sentiments. At its close the "Star-Spangled Banner" was played by the band, all the people joining in the chorus.

VI.

Singing.

STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

BY FRANCIS S. KEY.

O say! can you see, by the dawn's early light,
 What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming—
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,
 O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming !
 And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
 Gave proof, thro' the night, that our flag was still there ?
 O ! say does that Star-spangled Banner yet wave
 O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave ?

On that shore, dimly seen, through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, now conceals, now discloses ?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream ;
'Tis the Star-spangled Banner, O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave !

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more ?
Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave ?
And the Star-spangled Banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free ; and the home of the brave.

O ! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation !
Bless'd with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just ?
And this be our motto—" In God is our trust!"—
And the Star-spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

